5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

small island of Gorée further down the coast. However this did not mean that the French lacked interest in the interior. From 1749-53 Michel Adanson explored the Senegalese coast and undertook the first really scientific description of West Africa. His writings were largely responsible for the later hope that European colonisation of this part of Africa would be possible. But for the rest of the eighteenth century France's hold on St. Louis was too tenuous for anything of this nature to be undertaken. Indeed during the Seven Years' War the town fell to the British and was only returned in 1779. By the end of the eighteenth century St. Louis with a population of 7,000, had a European colony numbering 600, the largest on the whole of the West Coast. It also had an important assimilated mulatto community, whose descendants are known today as St. Louisiens. Indeed there had been a very high degree of *métissage* by the end of the eighteenth century, since most Frenchmen there took permanent African mistresses known as *signares*, and ensured the education of any children they had by them. Indeed in all but legal status these *signares* were wives and their 'marriages' were celebrated by their families with all the pomp of a normal wedding. However, with the improvement of communications between Senegal and France and the arrival of larger numbers of soldiers in the middle of the nineteenth century, mistresses were much more temporary in nature and the number of Frenchmen prepared to educate resulting offspring was considerably reduced.

In 1789 St. Louis sent its *cahier* of grievances to the States-General on the eve of the French Revolution, demanding the end of the monopoly of the great companies, freedom of trade and the abolition of slavery, which had hitherto formed the main item of export from St. Louis. These grievances were heeded. Slavery was abolished and the companies had their charters withdrawn. But the position of slaves and slave-trading in the colonies was not in fact settled until the end of the wars that followed the French Revolution.

During these wars St. Louis once again fell to the British

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

not to let the same discriminations and prejudices such as exist in other colonies be introduced among them.' At the same time the metropolitan Government was asking whether Africans would make suitable corporals and under-officers. Furthermore Schmaltz, whilst advocating a system of economic exploitation that seemed to be entirely to the advantage of France, maintained that the Senegalese were not merely to be auxiliaries and that they would be encouraged by fixed prices for their crops to produce more and become 'civilised' by their contact with Europe.

So far France had made no definition of the position of non-French inhabitants of her colonies. Even though France by the decree of 16 Pluviose Year II (1792) had abolished slavery and declared that 'all men, without distinction of colour, domiciled in French colonies, are French citizens, and enjoy all the rights assured by the Constitution', and even though the slave trade had been outlawed in 1818, until 1833 freed slaves had uncertain status in law, and domestic slaves still existed in large numbers. A royal ordinance of that year proclaimed that 'Any person born free or having legally acquired his liberty enjoys in the French colonies: (1) civil rights; (2) political rights under conditions prescribed by law'. But only in 1848 was the status of *captif* or domestic slave abolished, though the majority of *captifs* continued to serve with their former masters. Naturally this law only affected inhabitants of St. Louis and Gorée and the other French posts like Dagana and Richard-Toll.

The most important result of these two laws was to give about 12,000 Africans, mostly illiterate, the full rights of French citizens. Of these less than a thousand had been converted to Christianity by their French, mulatto or Christian African masters. Educational facilities, which would have to accompany any effective conversion of illiterates into full scale French citizens were still rudimentary. But it must be remembered that in France, at the time, the electorate was suddenly increased from 200,000 to

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

the rest animists. Of course this includes the exclusively Muslim Mandingo inhabitants of the Casamance who have been largely responsible for this proselytisation. The Diola too is inclined more and more to imitate his Mandingo and Wolof neighbours. L. V. Thomas, who has written a monumental study on the Diola, fears: 'Soon the Diola country may be, at least in its landscape, like Senegal if no power intervenes to limit the extension of the bushfire; it will certainly become, in its people, just another African country, where only a few anthropological remains fixed by heredity will enable us to distinguish the Diola from the Wolof or the Mandingo.'

The Casamance may well be coming closer to the rest of the Senegal, but it still remains a seat of opposition to the Government of Senghor and Dia, and votes heavily for the opposition *P.R.A.-Sénégal*. However neither of the leaders of this party, Ly Abdoulaye or Assane Seck, is *Casamançais*, and there is strong support in many towns for the *U.P.S.*, which indicates that Diola-Casamance politics are not necessarily either regional or tribal, though these are important factors.

The main social problem of the Senegal, and one which both assimilation and religion seem to have been unable to break down, is that of caste or a class structure very similar to caste. All the main Senegalese tribes—the Wolof, Lebou, Toucouleur, Serer—are divided into a series of endogamous castes. These castes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but roughly they are divided thus:

Nobles and Freeborn
Artisans (jewellers, smiths, weavers, leatherworkers)
Griots or minstrels
Liberated slaves
Slaves

(Of course domestic slaves no longer exist as such in Senegal, but families know who their slaves were.)

It is certainly easier in Senegal for a Toucouleur noble to marry a Wolof noble than to marry a woman of inferior

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

caste from his own tribe. The extent to which caste matters is brought out by the case of a young Catholic girl from a devout family who, rather than marry a fellow Catholic out of caste, in the end became the polygamous wife of a Muslim of the same caste. Within any ethnic group in Senegal marriage out of caste is extremely rare.

The caste system is not vicious in any real sense. For the privileges of a high caste entail many obligations. Thus a noble Wolof family will be obliged to feed and pay frequent sums of money to its family griots (minstrels, praise-singers and family historians) and if they fail to do this the griot is able to shame them publicly as a poor or mean family, something a Wolof would avoid at all costs. Likewise the artisan castes have a monopoly in their respective trades, since it would be impossible for a noble or free man to undertake the work of a jeweller or smith. Nevertheless in Senegalese society the term 'bijoutier' or 'tisserand' has slight contempt attached to it. The only caste to suffer socially in any way is of course that designated slave, because of the implications of such a status. In social investigations amongst the factory workers of Dakar, M. André Hauser found very few indeed who would admit to being of slave caste.

At present it is certainly a disadvantage to belong to any of the inferior castes, and though one hears of a few cases of open clashes between castes, in the present state of affairs it is certain that a number of young men resent this classification of people into superior and inferior groups and it is very much less important to them than to the older generation.

Early in 1961 *Agence Presse Sénégalaise* reported 'bloody clashes between griots and non-griots at Diack'. These ended with several dead and a number of wounded and started as a result of the refusal of non-griots to accept the burial of griots in their burial ground. The Minister of the Interior himself went to settle the dispute and gathered the whole population to tell them that his Government gave

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Goree

everything seems to have been built within the last half-century, an island like Gorée, full of historical sites, stands to remind one how long Africa and Europe have been in contact. Gorée itself has been controlled by many masters: the Portuguese from 1444–1595, the Dutch 1597–1677; the French and British at intervals from 1677–1817, when the island was finally ceded to the French by the Treaty of Paris. Many famous explorers including Nuno Tristão, Fernando Po, Bartholomew Dias and Vasco da Gama and Christopher Columbus, as well as scholars like Camoens and St. Francis Xavier, stayed on the island. A small church was built by Diogo d'Azembuja, the architect of the fort of Elmina on the Gold Coast. The Dutch used Gorée for their trade with the Gold Coast and India, though later it became to its various owners important as a slaving post, as the gracious Maison des Esclaves, built between 1776–1778, witnesses. I was taken there two years ago by an African guide, through a low, damp tunnel into some squalid little cells whose only source of light was from a small grille facing on to the sea; below was a sheer drop on to Atlantic breakers. Into those cells slavers bundled hundreds of miserable wretches, seized from their villages, as often as not by other Africans. There they were imprisoned, their feet held by the heavy balls and chains that still littered the floor, until a ship was ready to take them to the New World. Often more than half of them died on the Middle Passage, and many died waiting in this house because of cold and damp, or just the lack of will to live.

However, in 1794, when Gorée was in French hands, the Revolutionary Convention abolished slavery, and accordingly deprived Gorée of its main source of income. But in 1802 the law was repealed, only to be reinforced again in 1817, so that ironically Gorée, which had been built into a naval base and the administration headquarters of French West Africa, became a major centre for the suppression of the slave trade.

Towards the end of the century Gorée declined at Dakar's expense. By 1929, from having been one of the Quatre Communes, the others being St. Louis, Rufisque and Dakar, sending representatives to the French National Assembly and enjoying equal rights with Frenchmen, it had so declined in importance that it was incorporated into the Municipality of Dakar.

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162 Table I. Division of the population of the Senegalese Fouta according to ethnic groups.

Ethnic Group	Actual Number	Percentage
Toucouleur	187,000	54.8
Wolof	36,000	10.6
Saracolé	13,000	3.8
Peul	47,000	13.8
Moor	56,000	16.4
Miscellaneous	2,000	0.6
Total	341,000	100.0

582 563 The ethnic groups are relatively endogamous, because marriages between persons of different ethnic groups are very rare, except perhaps, as we have seen, between Toucouleur and Peul (Foulbé walo). The Toucouleur /669/ are the only group entirely 563 within the Fouta, aside from some fractions that emigrated in the [166] course of religious crusades into Macina, Boundou, and elsewhere.

Each of the other ethnic groups is merely an extension into the valley of a group whose bulk occupies the neighboring regions, the Wolof in the northern part of Senegal, the Saracolé in western Sudan, the Peul near the Ferlo and the Assaba. But each of these ethnic groups is itself divided into several populations: the castes.

565 Castes and social conditions. The castes, in reality, present [582] a matrimonial barrier more difficult to overcome than that of ethnic affiliation. The term "caste" is used here in the general sense of social class, exclusive in nature, and not in the sense [564] that is given it in the valley where the term is reserved for artisan castes.

●[567] Social conditions first of all distinguish the captives from [422] the free men. The captives are regarded as the personal property

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S 567 565 422 421 623 of the masters and are married by them. They have no property rights nor a voice in the village councils, being constrained to menial work. This condition cannot be compared to that of the slave of the two Americas in former times; it is more reminiscent of that of bondage in the Europe of the Middle Ages. Before the legal suppression of this custom a certain number of captives had already been freed, but the prejudice against these people remains, and they constitute, in fact, the inferior caste in the social hierarchy.

S 564 463 It is the hereditary work of the artisans that, properly speaking, distinguishes the men of the castes from the others: work in wood, leather, metal, and cotton thread. This distinction is transmitted from father to son, whatever calling is actually practiced. A captive may practice weaving, but he will never belong to the caste of weavers; conversely, a man belonging to the caste of jewelers may be a doctor of medicine and practice the profession of medicine.

S 582 565 Marriage most clearly distinguishes the social barriers which the child inherits from its father. Although there is no rigid interdict, there is such ostracism that it is practically impossible for a man to marry a woman of an inferior caste without risking loss of status and being banned from society. There is one exception: [S 567] it may happen that a master marries his captive in order to have children who are free; the mother will be set free by this act, but if the union is sterile the woman remains in the condition of servitude.

S† 565 The system of castes is still very much alive, especially among the Toucouleur, and actually divides the ethnic group into partial populations, which, however, are less numerous than in India.

The functional nature of the castes has brought about in the course of their history the appearance of a hierarchy. Among the Toucouleur there are first the free men (rimbé), not belonging to the trade castes, and among /670/ whom, at the head, are the torobé (singular, torodo). Originally, in the Fouta Toro, this word in Arabic designated a scholar, a propagator of Islam. It

† [i.e., The captives -- Analyst]

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565 /670 cont./ has been the dominant class since the Islamic revolution. In former times many strangers from neighboring countries would come to follow the teachings of the marabouts, to settle around them, and, thanks above all to Islam, to join this caste, which at present seems more closed and now tends to be less heterogeneous.

The social stratum which comes next is that of the tiédo and the thioubalo. It is believed that their ancestors were the first occupants of the soil, and they have preserved their traditions, the tiédo as farmer and the thioubalo as fisherman. The caste of fishermen is quite closed and has its own hierarchy with its captives, its free men, and its dynasty.

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587 The tiédo caste sometimes intermarried with the fishermen
565 and the torobé. Also free, but of an inferior social rank, are the trade castes. The general name for them, "gnégno," indicates a relationship of dependence vis-à-vis the above castes. Wood-cutters (labo), blacksmiths (baïlo), shoemakers (saké), and weavers (mabo) in principle intermarry indiscriminately. In contrast, the griots (gaoulo), who specialize in the singing of praises, marry only among themselves and sometimes with the blacksmiths.

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565 Finally, at the bottom of the social hierarchy is the group
569 of captives and former captives. There is a distinction between the freed (gallounké) and the captive (mathioudo), but they are in fact united by the same prejudice which the other castes have with regard to them.

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565 The social structure of the other ethnic groups is of the same type as that of the Toucouleur, with the exception of a few details; for instance, the diawando was originally the attendant or the courtier of the large Peul families and seems to form a differentiated caste at present. The caste of fishermen does not exist among
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[565 the Peul, for they do not fish, or among the Wolof all of whom
006] can engage in fishing.

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582 If we limit ourselves to the Toucouleur group, the only
143 one for which we know the actual number in the valley, we shall be able to estimate the numerical importance of the various endogamous groups and consequently the number of women with whom marriage is possible (Table II). For certain castes, few in number, such as those of the artisans, the results of the sampling,

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Table III. Percentage of consanguineous marriages according to the degree of kinship in the different ethnic groups in the valley of the Senegal. Value of the mean coefficient of consanguinity

Ethnic Group	Number of women interrogated	% of consanguineous marriages according to degree of kinship			Total	Mean Coefficient of consanguinity F X 10^3
		4th D	5th D	6th D		
Toucouleur	3,865	10.4	4.2	10.5	25.1	7.6
Peul	1,135	14.5	6.8	14.5	35.9	12.2
Wolof	731	10.1	7.1	13.0	30.2	9.5
Saracolé	270	16.8	2.2	10.9	29.9	12.7
Total	6,208	11.3	5.0	11.3	27.6	8.7

S T 582 143 565 marriages and their percentages in the four principal castes of the Toucouleur. The percentage of these marriages /673/ /Table IV appears here/ varies from 10.7 among the captives to 44.4 among the artisans; the figure increases among the fishermen to 32.2 and to 35.6 among the Torobé. The relatively weak proportion observed among the captives (10.7%) is due to the fact that the latter came from different regions, according to the accident of wars, but it shows that they have nevertheless adopted the custom of their masters.

S T [567]

S 582 143 The customary nature of these marriages is shown by the fact that certain types of unions between cousins are preferred to others. The number of marriages of the fourth degree, the type of which we have noted, although small (47), nevertheless tends to confirm the preference for marriages with the daughter of either

[Text continues middle of p. 13--Analyst]

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presqu'île du Cap-Vert,"
op. cit., p. 274

square kilometer nevertheless satisfied a double /374/ /Fig. 1 appears here / concern of the Hollanders, security and commerce: security first for the ships, which could find an excellent anchorage in the bay on the northeast of the island, immediately so appreciated that its excellence -- Goede reede, "the good roadstead" in Dutch -- served to designate the establishment under the name of Gorée (8) in distinguishing

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8. Nora and Ch. Toupet,
"L'origine du nom de Gorée,"
in Notes Africaines, January 1959,
pp. 17-20, I.F.A.N., Dakar.

[113]

it from the other islands of the peninsula; and then, security for the occupants. From this point of view, the insularity would have been a great advantage for the site of Dakar. Finally, with regard to commerce, the island of Gorée, although minuscule, sufficed for barter with the natives of the coast and could well fill its role as a warehouse for products and slaves. As soon as these views were confirmed by the facts, Gorée became the object of competition among the Hollanders, French, and British, finally coming to the French. In spite of this changing of hands, the establishment of Gorée, thanks to the slave trade, /375/ prospered, and around 1845 it harbored more than 5,000 persons. The abolition of the trade, and then that of slavery, around the middle of the century dealt it a mortal blow, bringing about a crisis from which Gorée did not recover. There was indeed an attempt at adaptation to the new conditions, the Goréans trying to make the island a place for commerce with the continent, where the cultivation of the groundnut had already developed, but on this point Gorée could not rival the peninsula. The inhabitants understood it; there were those who encouraged the occupation of Dakar with the idea

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22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 39

7. HISTORY

SENEGAL is the oldest French colony in Africa. From it the Niger basin has been penetrated and the Sudan conquered. On it has been based the modern Federation. For more than two centuries, therefore, its history was that of French West Africa as a whole, and it is not until the close of the Napoleonic era that the domestic history of the colony becomes distinguishable.

The Early Nineteenth Century

The Peace of Paris restored the colonial *status quo* of 1 January 1792, but St. Louis was not returned to the French until 1817. The British occupation of Senegal had been purely military, with no attempt to introduce British civil administration. French officials had continued their duties, and, when they had died, had been succeeded by other Frenchmen. The resumption of French rule after the war, therefore, presented no difficulties. The country was fairly well known, and explorers used St. Louis more as a starting-point for distant journeys than to make new discoveries in Senegal itself. The British expedition of 1816 under Peddie and Campbell and the French one of 1818 under Mollien added considerably to European knowledge of Fouta, Ferlo, and Bondou, although their main objects were to penetrate Fouta Jalon.

Attempts at European Colonization. In 1815 France agreed to the abolition of the slave trade, although the law embodying this decision was not passed for another three years. As the trade had previously been the key to the prosperity of Senegal, a new economy had to be devised. Experiments were consequently made with European settlers, who were to produce cotton and other tropical products. To execute these schemes, Louis XVIII appointed as first post-war Governor Colonel Schmaltz, who had lived for a number of years in the Dutch East Indies. Tragedy attended his voyage out. The ship carrying him, the *Méduse*, was wrecked in Arguin bay on 2 July 1816. The Governor and his wife were saved, but there were many deaths from drowning; and hunger, thirst, and exposure killed many who reached the shore. Out of one party of seventeen only three survived. Another party of 152 persons, including women and children, crowded on to one raft. Many were washed off by waves, many went mad, and many died of thirst. After thirteen days of horror, fifteen survivors were picked up, five of whom died before

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37
Wolof MS 30
Trarza MS 24

From 1836 onwards treaties were made with the chiefs of the Casamance basin, and posts were constructed at Sedhiou, Karaban, and Diembering. These treaties respected Portuguese historic but obsolete rights at Ziguinchor, but effectively guaranteed that the future of the river should be French.

The abolition of the status of slavery by France in 1848 deprived the French merchants of a cheap supply of labour, which they had rented from the chiefs, and in 1850 a committee was appointed to consider withdrawal from the colony or, as an alternative, the establishment of French authority. It decided in favour of the latter, and the policy of trade treaties came to an end.

The new French policy, to which Napoleon III was pledged, was summed up as 'absolute freedom of commerce with the suppression of the escales; establishment of security, by force if necessary; the substitution of full and entire authority for the system of treaties and subsidies; methodical organization of expansion towards the interior; and concurrently the development of economic institutions'.

'By Force if Necessary'

Faidherbe. It was to carry out this policy that Faidherbe was appointed Governor of Senegal in December 1854. He had already had much experience as a soldier and administrator in the colony, and, with a break of eighteen months, he held office till July 1865. His period of office marked a turning-point in the history of Senegal, and he is justly remembered as one of the builders of the modern French Colonial Empire. At first his resources were pitifully small. He had four companies of marine infantry, a company of native infantry formed on the liberation of the slaves in 1848, sixty spahis, and some detachments of artillery and engineers. His naval strength was on a similar scale. Both were substantially strengthened in the next few years.

The Arabs. Faidherbe decided to deal with the Trarza Arabs. Notwithstanding the treaty of 1835, they had continued their marauding expeditions across the river, and had re-established a supreme influence over the Ouolofs of Oualo. Early in 1855 the Trarza chief Mohammed el Abib insolently demanded the French evacuation of certain islands near the mouth of the Senegal. Faidherbe marched against him and defeated him near St. Louis on 15 February. On 25 February the Ouolofs were defeated near Ross. The French captured more than 2,000 cattle and burned 20 villages.